BOOKS • THEATER • RECORDS

THE Nation

March 7, 1953
20¢

Trygve Lie's U. N. Purge

by Henri Rolin

Camus-Sartre Debate

by Jean-Marie Domenach

Lodge Sets the Tone — *J. A. del Vayo*

No ABC's on TV — *Saul Carson*

Revolt Against McCarthy? — *Editorial*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Around the U.S.A.

The Cherokee Drama

Knoxville, Tennessee

UP A curving black-top road a few hundred yards above Cherokee, North Carolina, is the Mountainside Theater, built in a natural bowl with the Great Smokies for a back drop. Next summer a huge outdoor pageant called "Unto These Hills" will begin its fourth season there, having already played to an international audience of more than a third of a million. The theater seats 2,900 and has been packed each season. More than 107,000 tickets were sold in 1950; 159,000 in 1951. All seats were reserved in 1952 and cost from $1.50 to $3. The season lasts from July 1 to September 1.

Kermit Hunter, a young English instructor at the University of North Carolina, wrote this "Cherokee Drama" in 1949 for his thesis in dramatic art. Harry Davis, technical director of the Carolina Playmakers, directed it. A cast of 115 is headed by the Playmakers and includes forty-eight Cherokee Indians.

The story begins with Andrew Jackson being saved from death by a faithful Cherokee scout; he is then seen in the White House selling the Cherokees' homeland out from under them. Next General Winfield Scott with 7,000 troops rounds up the Cherokee people, herds them like cattle into stockades, and marches them a thousand miles west over the Trail of Tears. An old Cherokee, Tsali, kills a drunken soldier to save his wife from a prodding bayonet and then gives himself up, together with his two sons and his brother-in-law. They are shot by a firing squad but gain the right for the scattered and broken remnants of the tribe to remain in the fastnesses of the Smokies.

A few years ago, under the inspiration of an Ashville attorney, Francis Heazel, the Western North Carolina Associated Communities was organized in the eleven counties of Clay, Cherokee, Graham, Macon, Swain, Jackson, Haywood, Transylvania, Buncombe, Henderson, and Madison to promote the general welfare of the area. To produce and manage the proposed "Cherokee Drama" the Associated Communities set up a non-profit organization called the Cherokee Historical Association, with a Hendersonville theater man, Harry E. Buchanan, as chairman. Buchanan barnstormed for a year trying to raise funds to build the theater and produce the show. Interested whites and Negroes in eleven counties contributed $20,000. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians gave $5,000 out of tribal funds. But these donations were not half what was needed, and as a last resort a committee of whites and Cherokee went before the North Carolina legislature and put their cards on the table. By a unanimous vote in both houses $35,000 was appropriated for the venture.

Even with this backing "Unto These Hills" opened with a deficit of $30,000. Imagine the elation of its producers when the debt was paid off the first month! At the close of the 1950 season there was a surplus of $70,000. All this and $15,000 more was plowed back into desperately needed improvements—theater seats with backs, black-top drives, a caretaker's house, presentable office space and equipment, and so on.

• The 3,000 members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians live on a 57,000-acre tribally owned tract surrounded on the north, east, and west by the Great Smoky National Park. They receive no money dole from the government. They would spurn anything that looked like a handout, and they are receiving nothing on a platter from the Historical Association. But by legitimate work, alongside their white associates, the Cherokee are earning roughly $100,000 a year in connection with the pageant. Some 150 are directly on its payroll. Sales of handicrafts before the Cherokee Drama attracted visitors ran about $75,000 a year. Counting in the proceeds from garden and farm products and other tourist attractions, the Cherokee are now doing an estimated half a million dollars' worth of business a year.

Out of the red and with surplus funds the association has inaugurated other projects that were written into its charter. It has awarded its first four-year college scholarships for Indian boys and girls in the fields of dramatics, anthropology, medicine, dentistry, and homemaking. It has appropriated $5,000 for looms, spinning wheels, and other tools that will enable the Indians to step up their production of arts and crafts. It will award $750 in cash prizes annually to encourage the beautifying of highways, homes, yards, gardens, community centers, and the like throughout the six Cherokee villages. Cash prizes totaling $2,400 will be awarded for the best products in woodcarving, basketry, weaving, pottery, agriculture, and forestry.

The association has built a roadside market in Cherokee where the Indians display and sell their wares and opened a "live museum" on a forty-acre forested tract a few hundred yards from the Mountainside Theater. The museum is an authentic reconstruction of a 200-year-old Cherokee village. Typical Cherokee families occupy the dwellings and weave cloth, plait baskets, chip arrowheads, fashion bows, arrows, and blowguns, cultivate corn, beans and squash, and carry on the rituals and customs of their ancestors, just as they were doing when Hernando De Soto visited them in 1540.

Probably the most significant long-term project of the association is the development of a superior summer school of fine arts, arts and crafts, and dramatics at Cherokee. When expanded according to plans, the school may operate the year round and will be open to any boy or girl of any race who can qualify.

The production of the pageant was the work of white men. Most of its patrons are white men. It is a rare thing to see one race stage a confession of its wrongdoing toward another race in the heart of the wronged people's homeland, for all the world to see. Few experiments in interracial relations can equal this. MARLEY COLE

[*The author is a student of Appalachian folklore and has written on the subject for various publications.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 176, Number 10
New York, Saturday, March 7, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Sanctioning Indecency

Trygve Lie's newest directive to the United Nations staff raises the interesting question: Has he decided to abandon his Norwegian citizenship along with his post as Secretary General and join the McCarthy wing of the Republican Party? Nothing short of this would seem sufficient to explain his action, on the eve of a U. N. debate on personnel problems, in authorizing non-American members to inform on their American colleagues. The fact that the directive stipulates that they should not discuss the "professional" operations of United States employees but only their personal lives merely adds to its indecency. Mr. Lie's action, which became public last week, was taken several weeks ago in connection with the loyalty investigation of Americans being held on U. N. territory, and obviously represents an effort to present the Assembly with a *fait accompli* when it comes to discuss this most controversial subject.

Elsewhere in this issue we present a challenge to Lie and the report of his panel of jurists by the distinguished anti-Communist Belgian senator and international lawyer, Henri Rolin. An authority on the U. N. Charter, M. Rolin underscores the point that the Secretary General is completely outside the jurisdiction of the headquarters state. But his behavior makes it clear that Mr. Lie can no longer be regarded as the protector of the sanctity of the Charter. It remains to be seen whether the member states will have the courage to recognize this fact, accept his resignation, and instal personnel standards which are worthy of the world's most important international body.

Sauce for the Shrimp

Messrs. McKay and Dulles ought to get together. The Secretary of the Interior has told the Senate that Texas and Florida should be given title to off-shore land within their "historical boundaries" stretching 10.5 miles seaward. Simultaneously the State Department has told the Mexican government, which recently seized a number of American shrimp boats as poachers, that it does not recognize Mexico's claim to a sea frontier extending 10.3 miles from the coast. The high seas, it declares, begin at the usual international three-mile limit.

Actually, there is no universally accepted limit to territorial waters. The claims of Texas and Florida appear to be derived from Spanish law; if they are sound, so is that of Mexico, which has the same origin. But in any case the State Department seems to have forgotten that the United States abandoned its historical position on the three-mile limit on September 28, 1945, when President Truman issued two proclamations. The first asserted United States jurisdiction over the mineral resources of the continental shelf contiguous to the United States beyond the three-mile limit. The second established fishing conservation zones in areas of the high seas contiguous to the coasts of the United States where fishing activities on a substantial scale have been developed and maintained by United States nationals alone or by them and nationals of other states. The proclamation, which expressly recognized the right of other states to take similar action, was particularly aimed at protection of the Alaska salmon fisheries, which were formerly threatened by Japanese fishermen operating well outside the three-mile limit. We would think that sauce for Alaskan salmon is also sauce for Mexican shrimp.

Peron's Double Deal

Hailed by the Argentine government press as an "epoch-making event in Latin American relations," Perón's state visit to Chile does not seem to have lived up to expectations. The real purpose of the rendezvous in Santiago was to strengthen the bargaining position of Latin America's three "strong men" vis-à-vis the United States. But one of the three, and not the least important, was conspicuously absent. Getulio Vargas of Brazil apparently had not the least desire to assist in building up his Argentine colleague as the leader of a new and powerful continental bloc.

Vargas had another reason for staying away from a meeting that could be construed as an anti-United States demonstration. After a conference between President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, the Export-Import Bank recently favored Brazil with an extension of a three-year $300,000,000 credit. It would have appeared distinctly ungrateful of Vargas, with the credit in his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 197

Revolt Against McCarthy? 198

"Young Bob" 200

ARTICLES

Lodge Sets the Tone
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 201

Camus-Sartre Debate:
Rebellion vs. Revolution
by J.-M. Domenach 202

Foreign Policy: Behind the Scenes
by Bruce Catton 204

No ABC's on TV:
Education Takes a Beating
by Saul Carson 205

Lie's U. N. Purge:
A Belgian Senator's View
by Henri Rolin 207

BOOKS

Too Big *by T. K. Quinn* 210

New Books in Brief 211

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 212

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 214

Record Notes *by Robert E. Garis* 215

Gallery Notes *by Irvin Haas* 215

LETTERS 216

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 506
by Frank W. Lewis 216

AROUND THE U. S. A.
The Cherokee Drama
by Marley Cole opposite 197

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams — *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz — *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein — *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Foreign Editor*

Harold Clurman — *Theater*
B. H. Haggin — *Music*
Gladys Whiteside — *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting — *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon — *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

pocket, to have showed up at Santiago. Instead his War Minister, General Cardosa, was despatched to the United States on an official visit.

Actually the anti-Yankee position assumed by Perón and President Ibañez of Chile need not be taken too seriously. Both need American dollars. It is reasonable to assume that were the United States to extend to Argentina the same generous economic cooperation it has been giving Brazil, Perón would find it convenient to temper his animosity.

But even so Perón would like to negotiate with Washington from a position of strength, with a solid group of Latin American states behind him. So far he has failed to win over Brazil, and though he is apparently prepared to exchange one "B" for another, Bolivia will never prove a satisfactory substitute.

Witch Hunt Plus Job Hunt

A measure of light is shed on the current friendship between Secretary Dulles and Senator McCarthy (see editorial comment following) by the sad and belated Republican discovery that only 150 of 42,000 State Department employees serve at "the pleasure of the President." Mr. Dulles, it appears, had been bewitched by visions of lavish Republican patronage. What, then, to do? The always-candid John O'Donnell, in his column of March 2, provides the answer: "Let McCarthy tear the boys apart in the State Department. They had it coming to them. Then, after the facts are in and the Congress and people are behind the clean-up, come in with a White House-backed bill for a complete reorganization of the State Department."

Revolt Against McCarthy?

THIS is the year of the snake in the old Chinese almanac cycle, and it could turn out to be a year of the snake here too if McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde continue to rack up bloodless triumphs as easily as they did this last fortnight.

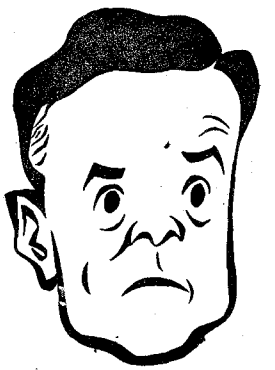
By a succession of swiftly executed and typically bold maneuvers Senator McCarthy forced the new leadership of the State Department to knuckle under in the most ignominious fashion. "No greater series of victories," reports William S. White in the New York *Times*, "by a Congressional body over a senior Executive department in so short a time is recalled here." Such seasoned observers of the Washington scene as Doris Fleeson, Thomas L. Stokes, the Alsop brothers, and Marquis Childs were stunned by the ease with which McCarthy, with a few cracks of his circus-master's whip, brought John Foster Dulles, Walter Bedell Smith, and Donald Lourie into line. It used to be thought that Mr. Acheson was easily intimidated by Congressional bullying, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his behavior looks downright gallant in comparison with the craven manner in which the new Republican chiefs have capitulated to the town tough and prize soy-bean speculator of Appleton, Wisconsin. "In the days of Truman and Acheson," reports John O'Donnell in his syndicated column, "McCarthy was on the outside trying to storm stubbornly defended official walls. Now he's invited inside as an ally."

After only a month in office the Eisenhower Administration is being warned from all sides that a day of reckoning with the "radical" right-wing Republicans cannot be avoided much longer. But the chance for a reckoning may have come and gone. Now that he has been invited into the State Department, with carte blanche to look around, examine files, cross-examine employees, and encourage his bevy of informers, McCarthy will not easily be kicked out. Not more than eight votes could be found in the Senate, Mr. White estimates, for any attempt by that body to discipline McCarthy. In the House only two Congressmen, Emanuel Celler and Roy Weir, had the courage to vote against the latest appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Nor will the Administration be successful in its attempts to appease McCarthy, for his price will prove to be too high. Lord High Executioner of the Senate in 1953, McCarthy hopes to be in the White House in 1956. He cannot be reasoned with; he must be opposed. The question is, by whom? "Taking their cue from President Eisenhower," reports William V. Shannon in the New York *Post,* "political leaders here are keeping under cover as far as Senator McCarthy is concerned. The question of who, if anyone, is going to do anything about McCarthy is more up in the air than ever."

McCARTHY, it must be emphasized, is a clever and resourceful demagogue, though he is not so powerful as he appears to be. He has an uncanny ability, as Hitler and Mussolini did, to bluff his opposition. Each time he wins a handsome stake by making a reckless bid which no one cares to call, he acquires still more political chips to support his next bid, which is always higher. Thus he seems invincible when in fact he is only lucky and bold. He can afford to take long chances since he has good reason to believe that his bluff will not be called, at least not by those who can afford to call it. In this country as elsewhere the respectable conservative elements cannot summon the will—it is not a question of courage—to oppose the anti-Communist demagogue, however much they may dislike his methods. Sensing this weakness, the demagogue is able to command the active support of some (see the list of those who have contributed to McCarthy's —and Joe Ryan's—secret "anti-Communist" funds) and the worried and guilt-ridden acquiescence of the others. When Mr. Eisenhower failed to speak out against McCarthy during the Wisconsin primary last year, it appeared that he either lacked the courage, which was unthinkable, or that he did not understand what McCarthy was up to, which was incredible; now it seems more likely that he actually approves of McCarthy's objectives if not his methods. That means the fat is in the fire. Noting the ease with which McCarthy occupied the State Department without firing a shot, Senator Jenner boldly tells off Senator Taft, and the President, instead of rallying to the support of Taft, takes a position on the loaded question of Communist teachers which is indistinguishable from that of McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde. If this is to be the pattern of his relationship with these demagogues, the President is already their captive.



Jenner

In no small measure McCarthy's power is based on a failure of leadership. As long as "anti-communism" rather than some affirmative purpose is our dominant political concern, leadership will continue to be a competition in demagoguery. The opposition exists, but it cannot find effective expression without leadership. Once the right sentiments are voiced, the response is seldom disappointing—witness the extraordinary chain reaction to Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer's brave and dramatic indictment of the "inquisitors" before the 17,000 teachers, superintendents, and top educators at the recent Atlantic City meeting of the American Association of School Administrators.

When in the wake of this superb speech Representative Velde attempted to smear Mrs. Meyer, she charged him with being "a man who is conscienceless enough to use a deliberate lie," and Velde was forced to issue a retraction, albeit tardy, whining, and unapologetic. Incensed by the Velde smear, Senator Morse in a fine speech joined with Senators Lehman and Kefauver in demanding a change in Senate investigatory procedures. A few days later Senator Taft, speaking in Chicago, went out of his way to say that he "would not fire anyone for being a Communist unless it was certain he was teaching communism and having some effect on the development of the thought of students." Senator Jenner promptly labeled the statement "naive."

THESE strange goings-on prompeted others to speak up. The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayres, Jr., dean of the Washington (Episcopal) Cathedral, charged that McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde were "demonstrating that they believe God and the nation are best served by the frightened and credulous collaborators of a servile brand of patriotism." In a sermon called " Study in Tyranny," Dr. A. Powell Davies of Washington's All Soul's Unitarian Church, denounced McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"pretended patriots . . . men of tyrannous purpose," and called for their repudiation. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam attacked the same tyrannical trinity. "Our freedom and our faith," he said, "are in jeopardy. . . . Men who say that in every little red schoolhouse there is a little Red teacher lie. . . . How long are we to tolerate former conspirators, men who admit they sought the overthrow of this government and who by their own admission were traitors, now coming as respected witnesses with amazingly adaptable memories?" In Princeton, George F. Kennan pointed out that the witch hunts were "whipping our established institutions about like trees in a storm," and in New York, Edward R. Murrow lashed out at "these pompous, posturing practitioners of terror, who would ride down those who are searching for truth." What is significant about these statements is not so much the credentials of the speakers as the new political diction in which they are couched. These are not statements of the sick and frightened but of the angry and aroused.

IT IS significant, too, that these interesting reactions stemmed from the announcement that the witch-hunters were preparing to investigate the schools and colleges. Few public interests are of deeper concern to more citizens in this country than the freedom and integrity of American education. It is one thing to stage a heresy trial of ten Hollywood writers; it is something else again when, six years later, professors are tried for the same offense. In 1947, when the Hollywood writers were being mercilessly grilled, few persons would have thought that 1953 would produce the headline: "Harvard Group to Study Policy on Red Quizzes." When the President's Committee on Civil Rights fatuously concluded in the fall of 1947 that civil liberties were firmly safeguarded, who would have thought that 1953 would bring the headlines: "Ford Fund Allots $15,000,000 for United States Civil Liberties Survey"? When a few—and a lonely few they were—reporters charged that the Pasadena School Board incident of 1949 foreshadowed a desperate struggle for control of American education, it was said that they were the victims of hallucinations and nightmares. But the 17,000 educators who listened to Mrs. Meyer's fighting speech in Atlantic City did not treat what she had to say as fantastic.

There is a cloud on the horizon today no larger than a man's fist but it is growing fast and moving faster, and it is moving in the direction of Washington. For the first time since the start of the current witch hunt a significant protest is being voiced against it. A partial eclipse of the sun marked the advent of the Year of the Snake in China, where eclipses are regarded as a portent signifying the "anger of heaven." If we are not mistaken, the ancestral American deities are beginning to be angered too.

'Young Bob"

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

Madison, Wisconsin

FEW men have carried as heavy a burden of public responsibility at such an early age as "Young Bob" La Follette. He was only thirty when he was first elected to fill the unexpired term of his father, who died in 1925. His task was not only to prove himself as a Senator in the seat that his great father had occupied but to carry on the tradition of progressive insurgency. His worst political enemies will not deny that from the beginning he discharged these responsibilities with honor and in a way that would have made "Old Bob" proud of him. He did it with simplicity, humility, and courageous dedication to the cause for which his father had fought all his life.

For almost a quarter of a century Bob carried on the fight for progressive reform. In the dark days of the early thirties, when the bread lines were lengthening, the banks closing, and farms and homes going under the auctioneer's hammer, he took the floor of the Senate again and again to implore the federal government to act. His pleas went unheeded as just the braying of one of the "sons of the wild jackass." But with the advent of the New Deal, Bob saw the things for which he had fought become a reality. Through the formative years of the New Deal he helped to shape and to give the force of law to many of the reforms which his father had brought to Wisconsin and struggled in vain to extend to the nation.

It is one of the bitterest ironies of politics that a man who achieved so much for organized labor by his work on the Civil Liberties Committee should have been defeated in 1946 with the help of some of the labor leaders in his home state. At that time the Wisconsin C. I. O. was controlled by Communist elements out to get La Follette because he had raised his voice in the Senate to warn of the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union. Deliberately and maliciously they distorted and misrepresented his record. When the votes were counted, it was found that the strong labor wards of Milwaukee, traditional La Follette strongholds, had cast a large enough vote to give the Republican nomination to circuit Judge Joseph R. McCarthy.

The monumental achievements of Bob La Follette remain as a tribute to his memory. Thousands of words of praise have come from men and women of all political beliefs. But the real proof that he steered a course of true American progressivism was his defeat. The era of the La Follettes was ended by an alliance between the McCarthyites and the Communists.

MR. EVJUE is editor of the Madison Capital Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Lodge Sets the Tone

United Nations, February 27

THE second session of the seventh Assembly opened in a mood no more cheerful than that in which the first session closed. Again Korea is the dominating and vexatious subject. A new leading actor made his debut—Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in the role of United States chief delegate. He speaks well, has an attractive personality, and was greeted with a burst of applause from the visitors' gallery which the chairman of the Political Committee silenced with a polite reminder that public demonstrations were not permitted. Mr. Lodge's brief address was clearly intended to prove beyond doubt that it was no mere successor of Mr. Dean Acheson who took the floor. Less finished in style, more vigorous and challenging, his remarks could not be called conciliatory. In the old League of Nations days such a speech would have been possible only as the first step toward a charge of aggression and the imposition of sanctions. In the United Nations both effect and consequences were much less serious.

Ambassador Lodge challenged Foreign Minister Vishinsky to deny ten specific points, stated one after another by the speaker, which showed that the Soviet Union was "actively assisting the aggressors in Korea." He served notice that the United States would not at this session present any new Korean proposal, that since "the rulers of the Soviet Union can stop the war whenever they want to—and Mr. Vishinsky knows it"—it was up to them to change their position on the last approved Indian resolution. It was evident that any additional steps, following the authorization already given to Chiang Kai-shek to undertake military operations against the mainland — intensive air action, a blockade, or a total embargo on commercial relations with China—would be decided independently without asking for the Assembly's approval.

No important item was added to the agenda. Ambassador Eban of Israel indicated that he would doubtless have something to say later on the issue of racial discrimination in the Communist states. A more explicit reference to the subject by Mr. Lodge confirmed the expectation that before the Assembly adjourns a large debate will develop around the attitude of the Communist governments toward Zionism and Jews.

With a not very inspiring session ahead it was natural that any exciting news from outside would be welcomed and magnified. On the second day of the

Lodge

Assembly no one spoke in the Political Committee, but the corridors were full of rumors and speculation based on President Eisenhower's announcement of his readiness to meet Prime Minister Stalin at a halfway point between here and Moscow if it would aid peace.

At least one group that includes some Western Europeans and the Indians attributed considerable importance to the statement. In their opinion it fits into the theory that a new possibility for negotiation has been created both by the latest developments in Russia and the Soviet orbit and by the presence of Eisenhower in the White House. The campaign slogan of the Communists that it made no difference whether Eisenhower or Stevenson was elected—that in foreign policy they would go the same road—is already discarded. There *is* a difference and a very important one, and Moscow will be the first to realize it and avoid partisan over-simplification.

But it is especially what has taken place in the Communist world during recent months that induces this group of mild optimists to believe a better atmosphere for negotiation is in the making. They consider the Prague trial, the doctors' arrest in Moscow, and the anti-Zionist drive the final incidents of a long ideological struggle inside Russia. Some go even to the extreme of comparing this period with the dramatic era of the first conflicts between Stalin and Trotsky. This time the forces in conflict, according always to these delegates, were Stalin on the one side, opposing any move that could lead to World War III, and the extreme faction of Zhdanovites on the other, urging action before the American-led coalition had finished its military and atomic plans and was in a condition to strike. They considered Stalin the victor, but only after a longer and more difficult process than was realized outside.

Now that Stalin has established his position, a new chance for negotiation has been created. That, these delegates argue, puts the Stalin reply to James Reston of the New York *Times* in its real light; and the counter-move is the assignment to Moscow of Mr. Bohlen, known in the State Department as a consistent advocate of an "exchange of views." Perhaps Kennan wanted to be the man, but he arrived in Moscow in the midst of the crisis, was received by Vishinsky but never by Stalin, and it was not the moment. Bohlen, they say, will find a different climate.

This theorizing is completed with comments on the double Indian interview, the recent still optimistic statement by Nehru, the Churchill-Gromyko meeting in London, and many other items. Unfortunately those who argue along these lines are in the minority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMUS-SARTRE DEBATE

Rebellion vs. Revolution . . *by J.-M. Domenach*

THE rupture of a friendship between two famous writers is an exciting event in the literary world. But the personal aspect of the controversy between Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, however sad, is of secondary importance. What has taken place is a debate in the great tradition of French intellectual life. Politics has been blended with philosophy, and the polemics of Sartre and Camus have touched on some of the basic political and ideological questions of our time. Curiously, despite the confusion and impotence of contemporary French political life, these ideological battles have lost none of their vivacity; on the contrary, they have taken an even more intense and tragic turn now that Europe, after having experienced the horror of Nazi occupation, finds itself divided and confronted by Soviet power.

The prestige of both Sartre and Camus dates from the Resistance, in which both men fought against Nazism. After the Liberation they exerted a powerful influence on many young people in France. No abstract libertarians, they participated actively in the great post-war political struggles, although as *francs-tireurs*—working outside the political parties. Camus wrote editorials for *Combat;* Sartre took part in a new Socialist movement and with other non-Communist intellectuals founded in 1948 the Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire. (This collapsed after a few months as a result of dissension somewhat like that between Sartre and Camus today.) Both writers were existentialists; both were revolutionaries. Now these two left-wing intellectuals have split violently. Why?

At the beginning of last year Camus published a book, "L'Homme révolté," which despite its philosophical tone had an immense popular success. In earlier works he had described isolated man struggling against the "absurd." How, he asked, could man combat the absurdity of his fate and the injustice of misery and death? In his mythological novel, "The Plague," he seemed to supply the answer: man resists blind pestilences by establishing conditions of human solidarity. But how can one reconcile the tragic situation of isolated man with the pity and sense of fraternity aroused by injustice and oppression? To this Camus replies in his last book—by rebellion. "Rebellion, in the case of men, means refusing to be treated as things or objects or to be reduced to simple history. It is the assertion of a nature common to all men who escape from the world of power." Imitating the famous Cartesian formula, Camus proposes the logic of collective action: "I rebel, therefore we are."

According to Camus, rebellion creates the basis for human solidarity. In "L'Homme révolté" he describes the perversions of revolt. First, there is the metaphysical nihilism that demands of God absolute freedom for the individual and defeats itself in a "mystifying dandyism"; second, the abstract declaration of democratic values that produced the revolutionary tyranny of 1793; third, the Hegelianism that identifies rebellion with history and enslaves man in dialectic; fourth, the "irrational terrorism" of fascism; and finally the "rational terrorism" of Stalinism. Thus Camus pursues the history of a tradition of rebellion ultimately destroyed by a dehumanizing revolution. In the end the rebellious author, disillusioned by the long, murderous, and deceptive history, retires, so to speak, to the shore of the Mediterranean, there to rediscover justness and proportion in the full light of noon.

SEVERAL months after the appearance of "L'Homme révolté," Francis Jeanson, a young Sartrian philosopher, reviewed the book in the May, 1952, number of *Les Temps Modernes,* of which Sartre is editor. Jeanson attacked Camus as a "noble soul" who evaded history while claiming to have discovered "transcendental principles." Camus replied immediately with a "Letter to the Editor," published in the magazine's August-September issue, in which he challenged his critics. In particular, he accused *Les Temps Modernes* of following the Stalinist line by calling every criticism of Marxism reactionary and identifying revolution with communism, while at the same time it feared to defend Marxism openly or to discuss its present political form and tragic consequences, especially the Soviet concentration camps. According to Camus, the existentialists of *Les Temps Modernes* do not admit employing the Marxist-Stalinist dialectic because it contradicts their own philosophy, whose aim is to restore man to absolute freedom. He wrote: "To free man of every restraint only to trap him subsequently in 'historical necessity' amounts to depriving him of his reasons for struggling for freedom and leaving him to the mercies of any political party operating by the rules of expediency. This means proceeding, according to the law of nihilism, from absolute freedom to extreme necessity; it implies nothing else but dedication to the enslavement of man."

Sartre answered Camus in an extremely vigorous article, undoubtedly the best he has ever written. He set himself, not like Camus on the heights, but at the level of the present struggle. He refused to be intimidated by the "virtuous violence" of Camus or to be embarrassed by the dialectic of an impotent protest. He wrote: "Yes, Camus, like you, I consider the concentration camps intolerable, but the constant exploitation of them by the bourgeois press is just as intolerable. I do not say that the case of Madagascar is more important than that of the Soviet Union. I say that we must not exploit suffering in the Soviet Union in order to justify measures we have taken to suppress the natives of Madagascar." He went on to describe the futility of a pro-

---

JEAN-MARIE DOMENACH is editor-in-chief of Esprit, *one of France's most important political monthlies.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Camus

test that refuses to distinguish between different acts of violence or between different "oppressors." The rebels of Vietminh, he observed, may be considered former French "slaves," but according to Camus, they are also "slaves" of Stalinist totalitarianism. For him, Sartre, the only way to fight against oppression all over the world is to join forces with your own victims first.

Sartre then passed to the counter-attack. He described the writings of Camus as the work of a man who piously evades history. For man's oppression of man Camus has substituted the oppression of man by the absurd; in short, he replaces history with fatalism. In consequence, the rebellion Camus preaches exhausts itself in an impotent aesthetic of revolt and diverts the oppressed from their real battle. In Sartre's view it is not against disease and death that one must struggle but against the injustices and tyranny that make life so tragic and liberty so hard to attain not only for the natives of colonial empires but for proletarians everywhere.

TWO questions, it seems to me, pervade this controversy—as they have dominated French intellectual preoccupations since the Liberation. The first is philosophical and concerns the "meaning of history"; the second, more political, concerns the "engagement" of the left intellectual. Both are affected by Marxism, its ideological form and the political form given it by Stalinism.

Does history have a meaning on which one can depend? More precisely, does Marxism give us the key to history—conceived as the triumph of the proletariat in a classless society? The question of historical determinism is a thorny one for the existentialists, who do not recognize a self-fulfilling "human nature" and for whom man, in a state of freedom, shapes his own destiny. It would seem that on this point Camus has discovered the Sartrian existentialists in a hopeless contradiction. He asks: "If there is no goal that man can pursue according to some scheme of values, how can history follow a perceivable direction? If it does follow one, why is not man able to achieve his goal? And if he does achieve it, how can he be in the terrible and perpetual state of freedom you talk about?"

To this Sartre replies that he does not know the meaning of history but feels that it is up to men to give it a certain design—a design created in every act of striving for freedom: "Today our freedom is nothing else but the free choice of struggling in order to become free." It is here that one would like to bring Sartre back to the concrete situation and ask him: Who has this free choice? Do the masses have it? If so, under what conditions? Does historical materialism grant proletarians this freedom that Sartre claims for them—"the freedom to orient history according to their means"? More precisely, does the Stalinist system permit its subjects this freedom? Sartre himself, in earlier works, answered no on many occasions. Evidently there is now a contradiction between his philosophy and his political views.

THIS contradiction can be more easily understood when one recognizes the dilemma in which French left-wing intellectuals find themselves. (A similar contradiction may be observed between the faith of certain Christians and their sympathy for the Communists.) The left-wing intellectual, however, is divided between protest and "engagement." If he wishes to maintain the purity of his protest he must denounce capitalist oppression in the West as well as police oppression in the East. But his protest will be completely futile, since the cause of the under-dog in France is defended by the Communist Party alone.

Camus, rejecting collaboration with the Communists—guilty by association with oppression in the East—finds himself cut off from the French working class; he must limit himself to protests against the tyranny of Franco and the excesses of French imperialism since he is unable to find any other pure cause. Sartre, on the other hand, is convinced that the major threat is offered by American power—guilty by association with the sufferings imposed on the French proletariat and on natives in the colonies; consequently he joins sides with the Communists and goes off to the Vienna Peace Congress to discuss means of preventing war. Anxious to deal with immediate dangers, Sartre took this step in the honest spirit that has always characterized him.

Politically, Camus is in an untenable position; philosophically, Sartre is in an untenable position. I do not wish to reduce their quarrel, which involves fundamental human problems, to mere political terms. However, their split and the contradictions in which they both find themselves are directly related to the situation of the French left, whose intellectual resources are richer than ever but whose capacity for action is practically nil. It would be an exaggeration to say that Camus has passed into the "American camp" and Sartre into the "Soviet camp." Camus has chosen intransigent protest against all forms of terrorism; Sartre, without capitulating, has decided to fight beside the Communists against the immediate threat of fascism and war. I am not so bold as to judge the merit of their opinions. I say simply that if in France there existed a non-Stalinist revolutionary party which could offer the working class an alternative to absorption by Stalinism, Sartre and Camus would both be in it. Their dispute enables us to evaluate both the tragic consequences of the collapse of Social Democracy in France and the work that remains to be done before the spirit of rebellion can embrace revolution without regret.

Sartre

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN POLICY

Behind the Scenes . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

SOONER or later you have to pick up the tab for all that free-and-easy campaign talk. It comes hard, and the psychological effects can be confusing, and there is always the danger that somebody will take advantage of your good nature while you are doing it. But it has to be done before a new political Administration can come of age.

The necessity of making glowing promises square with hard realities is now bringing pressure on two important sectors of the cold-war front—the Korean fighting and the much-talked-of repudiation of "secret agreements." At the moment it seems likely that Eisenhower will finally settle for a new look on a couple of old policies inherited from the preceding Administration.

The campaign turned pretty largely on the Korean situation. General Eisenhower promised that if he was elected he would go out there at once and take a first-hand look at it. Campaigns being what they are, this was immediately interpreted as a promise to get the Korean war off dead center and end it. After the election the trip was duly made and reported. Presently the new President delivered his State of the Union message. With all that campaign talk waiting to be redeemed, he announced that the Seventh Fleet would no longer keep Chiang Kai-shek's forces immobilized. It would cease to "shield Communist China"; there "is no longer any logic or sense," he said, "in a condition that required the United States navy to assume defensive responsibilities on behalf of the Chinese Communists."

This was pretty much an empty gesture, since the Seventh Fleet for some time had been mostly in Japanese waters, and Chiang's forces were in no condition to make a serious invasion of the mainland. Nevertheless, the tab had been picked up and the talk began to flow. Senator Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, promptly announced that the order to the Seventh Fleet was designed to "open the way to Nationalist bombing of the 2,000-mile railroad running from Manchuria to the frontier of French Indo-China." General Wedemeyer expressed the hope that the "new Formosa policy" would lead to economic and naval blockade of the mainland and eventual invasion. Senator Knowland urged the United States—alone, if necessary—to impose a blockade of Red China. Senator Taft remarked that if Chiang's troops did effectively invade China, "why, we'll undoubtedly help." Within a week Senator Bridges was suggesting the use of atomic weapons in Korea. What had been taken as a campaign pledge to end the Korean stalemate seemed about to be implemented. The Administration immediately took steps to put out the fire.

In Paris, Secretary of State Dulles, according to the Associated Press, assured anxious French officials that the United States did not intend to support Chiang in any "reckless action" against the mainland. Later he called talk of a blockade "premature," and soon he was explaining to Congress that many people had been reading into the President's speech things not really in it. All that was happening, he said, was that "increased attention" was being given to training South Korean troops and the fleet was being pulled away from Formosa, thus removing our "defensive responsibilities."

The real cooling-off dose, however, came from General Bradley. In a closed session with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he is understood to have made it clear that any win-the-war offensive in Korea would require a huge step-up in the American mobilization program and entail very heavy casualties. One Senator said he got from Bradley's testimony the implication that the number of United Nations troops in Korea might have to be doubled; worse yet, the degree of mobilization at home would also have to be doubled. This, of course, would mean higher taxes and the quick reimposition of stiff economic controls, which are now being thrown out the window.

It seems clear, therefore, that the "new, positive foreign policy" implies, in Korea at least, an effort to redeem campaign talk rather than a sudden right-about-face. The Administration is discovering that Truman simply told the truth when he warned that there is no quick, easy solution of the Korean problem.

On the heels of this came the business of secret agreements. In his State of the Union message the President also promised to ask Congress for a forthright resolution making it clear that the United States will repudiate any secret agreements with Russia which brought about the enslavement of peoples. This part of the message drew rousing applause, for it is an article of Republican faith that past administrations—largely through the machinations of Alger Hiss—sold Poles, Chinese, and others down the river at Yalta and other places. But when the Administration requested Congress to frame such a resolution, it bumped into the hard fact that the peoples in the satellite states were enslaved not by infamous secret agreements but by Russia's failure to live up to its pledges. In consequence, the draft suggested by the President was one any good Trumanite could indorse. It simply stated that this country opposes the enslavement of peoples and that the enslavement was the result of the Soviet Union's violations of international agreements.

Senator Wiley immediately declared that this was very disappointing—as well he might, since it draws a bead on the bad faith of Red Russians instead of domestic Democrats. Study would be needed he said, to frame a resolution which would "more clearly and accu-

---

BRUCE CATTON is contributing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rately set forth the sentiments of the American people."

In the House, where the mavericks are under fairly good control—except in the matter of income-tax reduction—the Eisenhower resolution is not expected to run into much trouble. Things look different in the Senate, however, and the odd thing here is that if the resolution is to be saved—if, that is, it finally goes through in a form that does violence neither to the truth nor to the prospect of preserving the peace—the Administration will need the help of the Democrats. And as things look now, it will get it. For the resolution actually says nothing that the Democrats have not been saying all along. Once more the Administration is discovering that Truman knew what he was talking about: it is a hard and rocky road to real collective security and a world order in which international agreements are properly observed, so that free peoples can survive.

That simple fact lies behind the current dust-up over foreign policy. The Administration is learning the facts of life. It is learning that the business of paying the check for loose campaign talk is dangerous because there is always a chance that in the confusion the go-it-alone boys may somehow get their own way. Also, the whole business unsettles other nations by which the ways of American politics are imperfectly understood. Basically, what is happening is that a valiant effort is being made to fit a new face on an old policy which has been denounced from heaven to breakfast but will be very hard to change materially.

NO ABC's ON TV

Education Takes a Beating . . *by Saul Carson*

JUST as educational television seemed to be in the bag, a commission controlled by New York's Governor Dewey took a long step toward a blackout. The state's Temporary Commission on the Use of Television for Educational Purposes, after a good deal of obvious political flimflam, suddenly whipped up a report paying lip service to the "desirability" of educational TV but advising the Legislature not to spend a dime for the purpose. As a bitter minority of the commission said in a dissenting note, the cost of putting New York State into the business of building and operating a network of ten TV stations would have amounted to "the equivalent of one-half mile of county road." Behind the commission, and behind Dewey, were forces which have consistently opposed educational TV. Unless counter-measures are punched back, immediately and vigorously, the enemies of educational TV are likely to win in other states as they have won in New York.

The fight started in Washington about three years ago before the Federal Communications Commission. The F. C. C. was debating ways to lift a "freeze" which it had imposed on new construction of television stations. One of the commissioners, Frieda B. Hennock of New York, a Democrat and a Truman appointee, insisted that in the allocation of TV channels educational needs must be taken into account. Miss Hennock asked that 25 per cent of the channels be reserved for non-commercial educational broadcasters when the F. C. C. got around to designing a national pattern of potential TV transmitters. The man who was chairman of the commission at the time, Wayne Coy, backed Miss Hennock; so did the present chairman, then the No. 2 man, Paul A. Walker.

With Miss Hennock's blessing and encouragement, state universities, land-grant colleges, and leading educational "trade" organizations got together, organized a Joint Committee on Educational Television, and started lobbying for the Hennock plan. Last April the F. C. C. finally completed its studies and issued its official list of TV channel allocations. Spectrum space was set aside for 2,000 television stations—only 107 were on the air at the time. Of the 2,000, 242 would be reserved for non-commercial educational broadcasters. But there was a catch in this decision. The reservations would be held open until June, 1953; after that time channels that had not been snapped up by educators would be vacant—which would mean that the broadcasting industry could go after them.

Except for the Joint Committee—which was a lobbying outfit and not prepared to go into the broadcasting business—there were no immediate bids for these educational channels. State participation in educational TV, in one form or another, became therefore an urgent necessity. California, to which eight channels were allocated, found seven left on its hands, one having been picked up by a group of educational institutions aided by private philanthropy. In New York the Board of Regents applied for the eleven reserved channels and got ten of them promptly. The necessity of such action by the state was made clear by the situation in New York City, where Fordham University was the only one of thirteen institutions of higher learning with enough gumption to want the city's sole available license. Fordham bowed out when the state stepped in.

Unfortunately the assignment of the licenses to New York State did not assure the construction of even one transmitter. For that, money was needed—not much, only about $350,000 per station, but it had to be appropriated by the Legislature. In Albany, as in Sacramento and other state capitals, there was stalling.

Governor Dewey then appointed a commission to study the entire matter; so did Governor Warren of California. Hearings and conferences were held. In

SAUL CARSON has been a radio and TV critic for many years. He is now writing for both mediums.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

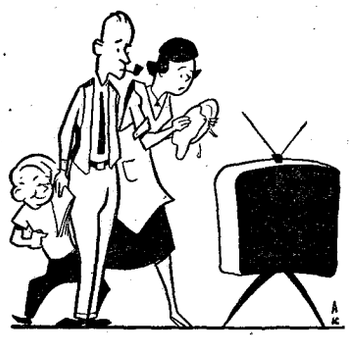
New York 102 persons favoring the state's entry into educational TV appeared before the commission in one day, among them such disparate types as Winthrop Rockefeller and Arthur Schutzer, executive secretary of the American Labor Party; William Jansen, city superintendent of schools, and Rose Russell, the Teachers' Union's legislative representative.

"How much more unanimous can you get?" whispered one of Dewey's commissioners. The California hearings revealed similarly extensive agreement. When legislation is introduced and appropriations are proposed in Sacramento, California politicians may remember that among the proponents of educational TV were Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, a brother of the President, and Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company.

AMONG the forces that do not want educational TV to become a fact and that are working quietly and efficiently to defeat it are two that really count. These are the advertisers, nearly all of them, and many of the most powerful radio-TV broadcasters. Having held down and nearly killed education by radio, they are hopeful of doing the same for television. The last thing they want is to see their domain threatened by state-owned or university-operated stations independent of sponsor control. In addition, various organizations of taxpayers, real or trumpery, are against state participation on the ground of economy. They are joined by free-enterprise tub-thumpers who raise the cry of "socialism," ladies who think TV hurts their children's eyesight, and people who oppose state "meddling" in education on grounds made familiar by opponents of the public-education system a hundred years ago.

Advertising and broadcast executives with a feeling for public relations do not say that they oppose educational TV *per se*. They have two arguments: first, commercial broadcasting is able and willing to do the educational job; second, it can do it better than the dreamy educators. Commercial TV, they contend, is already doing an educational job—although, if pressed, they might concede that they "have only just begun." The answer to the first argument is that commercial broadcasting, though able, has not proved itself willing; to the second, that on the basis of past experience the commercial station or network cannot be expected to supplant the educator in the job for which the latter has been trained and hired.

It is true that commercial television is doing a certain amount of educational work. Courses are conducted over the air by the University of Michigan, Northwestern, and Syracuse University, by the Board of Education in New York and in Philadelphia, and by school systems in Chicago and Minneapolis. There are some good programs emanating from museums. The ABC-TV network in cooperation with Columbia University conducts a program called "Seminar" in which graduate students under the guidance of a professor discuss important works by serious authors. We may applaud these programs, but we should remember that the broadcaster is obligated by his license to perform certain functions. The F. C. C.'s acknowledgment of the need for educational TV reminded the industry that the existence



of educational stations will not absolve the commercial stations of their duty to continue serving "the public interest, convenience, and necessity."

Most of the so-called educational programs on commercial stations are anything but educational in the real sense. They may supply information—as did the broadcasts of the political conventions. They may have cultural overtones, sometimes even cultural value—one thinks of CBS-TV's "What in the World?" which originated at the University Museum in Philadelphia, and of NBC-TV's monthly operas. But very little education is on the air now, and not much can ever be expected from the commercial side of the broadcasting industry. Certainly there is less risk in trusting the educational job via television to the educator than to the broadcaster —and the advertiser who subsidizes him —who made a failure of the job in radio. For twenty-five years, until TV became a force, radio temporized, insisting that it was able and ready to do educational work—but never getting around to it.

THE Dewey commission in New York could have been told something about that shameful failure by one of its members, Dr. Paul A. Lazarsfeld. In 1947, when radio was at the height of its power and profits, the National Association of Broadcasters conducted a national survey among radio listeners to learn their opinion of broadcasting. Lazarsfeld and Patricia A. Kendall analyzed and interpreted the data gathered and published the results in 1948 in a book called "Radio Listening in America." There we find the following interesting comment: "At the time when radio was first developing as a mass medium there was great hope that it would usher in an era of adult education. . . . But this hope was never realized. . . . It seemed that radio education was not here to stay."

This conclusion was drawn seven years after the formal dissolution of an organization of outstanding citizens and educators who in 1930 had organized the National Committee on Education by Radio because they "feared that education [by radio] would be dominated and tainted by the profit incentive" if left entirely in the hands of commercial broadcasters. In its eleven years of existence the National Committee on Education by Radio had seen commercial broadcasting chop down one educational station after another and had acquiesced because it believed the arguments of the radio men, the same arguments that their TV successors are advancing now. In 1941 the National Committee, according to its final report, had thought its "objective attained." The verdict of Lazarsfeld and Kendall shows that afterward someone managed to put the kibosh on their hopes.

The organizations backing educational TV will not be hoodwinked a second time by the commercial broadcasters. They are in the fight—and in the broadcast business—to stay. If they are licked, it will be the fault of the civic spokesmen, educators, women's-club leaders, and trade-union officials who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flocked to the hearings in New York and California, indorsed educational TV, but failed to carry through by watching the legislators in the back rooms of the state capitols.

There is danger that Dewey's shenanigans with educational TV, responding to the pressure from commercial broadcasters and advertisers, may set a pattern for the rest of the country. They can be countered, however, not only in New York but in other states. The F. C. C. can help by extending the June, 1953, deadline—even Dewey's commission expressed that pious hope. More important is identification of educational TV's real, behind-the-scenes opponent. The educators should unveil their hidden enemy, then apply counter-force to the fullest. They have lost one round, but they need not lose the fight.

LIE'S U. N. PURGE

A Belgian Senator's View . . *by Henri Rolin*

[*The controversial United Nations personnel policy which has led to the "loyalty" purge of American employees is on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. The following article is by a member and former president of the Belgian Senate who has many times represented his country at the United Nations. M. Rolin is also a professor of international law at Brussels University. The article is an abridged version of an address made recently before the Belgian Senate.*]

WE ARE all attached to the idea of world-wide international cooperation. The United Nations has brought disappointment, but it remains a hope and a necessary effort. It is the only place where we can hope to have some day, if not reconciliation, at least conciliation. While in the present political crisis the attainment of this goal seems far distant, the possibility must be kept open and the instrument maintained; and when I speak of the instrument, I am thinking above all of the U. N.'s internal mechanism, the Secretariat.

The draft of the Charter drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks and submitted by the great powers to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco contained nothing about the status of the Secretariat and no guaranties for its independence. It was on the insistence of the smaller powers and especially of the Belgian delegation and several British dominions that the provisions which now appear in the Charter were introduced.

In 1945 I was the representative of Belgium on the First Commission of the conference. I have therefore some right to be concerned today about how the provisions we drew up are being applied. Those relating to the question before us are Articles 100 and 105. Since 1952 the Staff Regulations adopted at the sixth session of the Assembly have also been in force.

The basic principles of the provisions and regulations are not contested. The independence of the Secretary General and of his staff is recognized as total. Member states have a correlative obligation to respect their independence. The inviolability of the building and the archives is unquestioned. The Secretary General is completely immune from United States jurisdiction, and as to the staff, that immunity extends at least to their official acts. The Secretary General's right to renounce that immunity is recognized, as is the international character of the staff, who, in the words of the Staff Regulations, are not to be inspired in their actions by any other interest than that of the United Nations. Finally, it is laid down that they cannot be asked to renounce their political or religious beliefs.

Since the Korean war the Americans have been especially concerned, and it is certainly their right to be concerned, with tracking down foreign agents in their country. The United States Senate has set up a Judiciary Subcommittee which is engaged in extensive inquiries into the loyalty of officials, great and small, and into their attitude toward the Communist Party or groups connected with it. On the opening day of the last session of the Assembly this subcommittee had the singular idea of summoning before it twenty American citizens on the Secretariat staff without first officially informing the Secretary General. Several of the persons summoned believed it was their right as American citizens and Secretariat officials to refuse to answer the questions put to them.

Now, the Constitution of the United States contains a provision, the Fifth Amendment, which declares that in a criminal case no one can be compelled to bear witness against himself. This right to silence is a corollary of the principle that an accused person is presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty. Any person who believes that his answer to a question could place him in jeopardy has the right to refuse to reply.

The Fifth Amendment was invoked by some of the staff members on October 13. On the fifteenth the chairman of the Senate investigating committee made a vigorous protest. The Secretary General, who at about the same time had reminded his staff that it was their duty not to reply to questions concerning their official functions, was embarrassed and decided to consult a panel of jurists. It soon appeared that he had gone rather far in the direction of concessions, for on October 29 the New York *Times* disclosed that he had made a secret agreement with the State Department to rid the Secretariat of Americans who were or had been Communists.

Disquiet mounted in the staff. Not only Americans but their foreign colleagues felt the growth of a threat to the freedom of opinion which had been guaranteed them. They were, to be sure,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Extracts from Relevant Documents

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Article 100: (1) In the performance of their duties the Secretary General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the United Nations. (2) Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 105: (1) The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purpose. (2) Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions. . . .

STAFF REGULATIONS

Regulation 10:2: The Secretary General may impose disciplinary measures on staff members whose conduct is unsatisfactory. He may summarily dismiss a member of the staff for serious misconduct.

forbidden to engage in political agitation but not to maintain intact opinions which previously they had been able to express legally.

SEVERAL weeks later, on November 29, the three jurists consulted by the Secretary General submitted a report which became the point of departure for a number of wholly regrettable decisions. On receipt of the report, the Secretary General decided to conform to it and notified the various American officials concerned that he would terminate the appointments of those who in the future refused to reply to questions put to them by the committee of inquiry. On December 5 he carried out the threat and dismissed all who had not given the required assurances. It was only then that he felt obliged to communicate the report to the delegations.

At a meeting of the Fifth Committee of the Assembly on December 16 many delegates, including those of the Netherlands and Belgium, voiced their dissatisfaction. Some went farther and stated clearly that they had serious doubts about the validity of the conclusions reached by the three jurists. At that meeting the Secretary General appeared to be planning a retreat, for he declared that if any measures he had taken were contrary to the Charter or to the Staff Regulations the Administrative Tribunal could annul them.

Unhappily, this did not end the matter. One of the last orders of President Truman's Administration, issued in January, 1953, lays down the procedure to be followed in communicating to the Secretary General information concerning American citizens employed in the Secretariat. I have no objections to the principle of the order. Every government has the right to communicate all the information in its possesion to the Secretary General. What disturbs me is that in the preamble the President of the United States took account on the one hand of the conclusions of the jurists and on the other of the Secretary General's expressed intention to make use of those conclusions in carrying out his responsibilities for the recruitment and dismissal of United Nations personnel. It seems to me that this intention cannot be upheld.

The three jurists consulted by Mr. Lie were an American, an Englishman, and a Belgian. The American is a member of the New York Bar who held high positions under Presidents Coolidge and Hoover. The Englishman was formerly in charge of censorship in the Ministry of Information. The Belgian is an eminent lawyer and a professor at the University of Louvain, where he taught private law.

None of these three jurists has ever belonged to any international organization whatever, or even had to do with the foreign affairs of his country. None of them has ever exercised the functions of judge or arbitrator between states or been a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; and I may add that none of the three has ever taught international law or written a line about it. None of them belongs to the Permanent Court or the Institute of International Law, or even to the International Law Association, which has dozens of members in Belgium and hundreds in Anglo-Saxon countries.

Now, when I think of the many internationalists in the United States and England whose opinion would have been received with respect and consideration, when I think that the Secretary General two or three years ago drew up a list of all the persons qualified to be designated by the Security Council for international missions and included not one of the men to whom he appealed this time, I confess that I cannot understand what dictated Mr. Lie's choice or rather the choice of the governments to which he turned. In any case, I stress that the signatures to the report ought not to impress the Assembly.

According to the report, officials are responsible to the international organization, but the organization, not possessing sovereignty, cannot claim their allegiance. There is no question of an official's loyalty to the United Nations since the loyalty relation exists only between an official and his country of origin. In my opinion this dictum loses sight completely of the first article of the Staff Regulations, which in formal terms directs officials to exercise their duties with the interest of the United Nations alone in mind.

The jurists forget an opinion on responsibility and protection delivered by the International Court of Justice in 1949 apropos of the assassination of Count Bernadotte in Israel. On that occasion the Secretariat believed the U. N. should exercise its right to protect its officers and not allow Sweden to act alone. The International Court of Justice gave full approval to this attitude.

I COME now to the essential part of the jurists' report, the opinion expressed on the three principal questions put to them: (1) What should be the attitude of the Secretary General toward U. N. officials condemned by the country of nationality or of residence for an act involving a lack of loyalty? (2) What should be his attitude when officials, invoking the constitutional guaranty, re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fuse to answer the questions of the American authority? (3) What should be his attitude when there is reason to believe an official is engaging, has engaged, or is likely to engage in activities implying a subversive purpose?

I agree with the jurists on one point. If it is established by the courts that a U. N. official has engaged in political activity against the institutions of any country, his own or another, the fact must be considered *res adjudicata*. The official has therefore been guilty of grave misconduct and must be dismissed. But the legal experts proceed on the assumption that in criminal matters the judgment must be respected by the whole world. They seem to have forgotten that this authority of *res adjudicata* extends no farther than the sovereignty of the state, especially in criminal matters. If, for example, I am condemned in France for any crime whatever, the verdict has not the authority of *res adjudicata* in Belgium and is not susceptible of execution there. If we accept the opinion of the three jurists, it would be enough to stage a Slansky trial and to implicate international officials. We would then be obliged, since the affair was *res adjudicata,* to abide by the decision of the tribunal and reap the consequences—namely, permit the dismissal of the condemned officials.

With regard to the second question, the three jurists declared categorically that the Secretary General must dismiss anyone who refused to say whether he was engaged or had been engaged in espionage or other subversive activities in the United States or whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or any other organization declared to be subversive. Not overlooking the Fifth Amendment to the American Constitution, they admitted that the persons questioned had a legal right to refuse to reply but held that this right did not bar the infliction of disciplinary sanctions. This interpretation makes a farce of the Fifth Amendment.

Refusal to reply may be inspired by a host of considerations. Many of us if interrogated concerning our opinions on this or that matter by a judicial authority would reply, "That's none of your business." I remember that during the war some of us were invited to fill out declarations as to whether we had Aryan or Semitic grandparents. If we refused to reply, was that an acknowledgment that our grandparents were not Aryan?

The question put to the jurists is connected with a controversy which has been going on for more than a year in the United States between liberal minds who wish to protect civil rights and the witch hunters. The judicial authorities were at first hesitant, but for some time they have been coming out in an impressive way against the demands of the witch hunters. In April, 1951, the United States Supreme Court heard an appeal by three organizations named as subversive on the Attorney General's list. They had applied in vain to a lower court to obtain their removal from that list. The Supreme Court reversed the decision which had refused to receive the complaint. More recently, on December 15, 1952, the Supreme Court by eight votes to none held unconstitutional an Oklahoma law which required government employees to take an oath that they did not belong to any organization alleged to be subversive. But if the Secretary General follows the opinion of the three jurists, the protection of the courts will not be available to the officials of the U. N., who will find themselves without any effective recourse against dismissal.

ON THE third point the reply of the jurists was at once the most ominous and the most unintelligible. Asked what action the Secretary General should take if he had reason to believe that an official was engaging or had engaged in subversive activities, the three jurists replied that dismissal was required in the second case as well as in the first, and that dismissal should also take place if there were sufficient grounds to believe that an official was likely to engage in subversive activities, that is, if he was what they called "potentially disloyal." This notion that potential disloyalty is ground for dismissal is in contradiction to the Staff Regulations, Article 10 of which says very clearly that the Secretary General can dismiss officials summarily in case of grave misconduct. Potential disloyalty can hardly be equated with grave misconduct, especially if all that is shown is that there are "serious reasons for believing" in that potential disloyalty.

It is not surprising therefore that some of the most authoritative organs of the American and English press have expressed surprise at the conclusions of the jurists. The New York *Times* said on December 2 that it did not see how the Secretary General could be asked to dismiss an employee solely because the latter had refused to say whether he had at some time in the past been a member of a certain party. The London *Times* of the same date declared that it was proper to raise the question whether the advantage of having the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States was not gained at too high a price if the great principles on which the organization had been erected must be sacrificed.

Some weeks ago the outgoing President of the United States, Mr. Truman, opening an exhibition of the American Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, declared that the idea of liberty was being threatened not only by communism but also by those who wanted government to exercise influence over the minds of citizens. The external threat to liberty, he said, should not cause us to strangle liberty with our own hands. If the democracies have recourse to Communist methods to check Communist aggression, the moral disaster will be more serious than a material defeat.

I hope that these words will have an effect not only in internal affairs but also in the field of international organization, where the failure to recognize their truth would lead to the ruin of our plans. I also hope that the great soldier who so brilliantly led the armies of liberation in Europe will find it in his heart to introduce into the relations between his country and the Secretariat that respect for the principles of liberty without which the United Nations cannot survive.

Trygve Lie

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Too Big *by T. K. Quinn*

BIG BUSINESS: A NEW ERA. By David Lilienthal. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

WHEN this book was serialized in *Collier's* a few months ago, in somewhat different form, liberals and progressives were surprised and disappointed to find that David Lilienthal had gone overboard for Bigness. It might have reminded them how close the extreme forms of our collectivized capitalism are to totalitarianism, though Mr. Lilienthal himself appears to believe that one can be as individualistic, free, and creative in any huge organization—the army, the government, or a sub-sub-division of General Motors—as in a personally owned enterprise. To his own satisfaction and perhaps to that of many a favorably disposed reader, Mr. Lilienthal has accomplished in 209 pages the impossible task of reconciling individualism and economic collectivism.

To make his case, he denies, as he must, our great liberal political leaders —Jefferson, Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, both Roosevelts, John Sherman, Charles Evans Hughes, and Justice Brandeis. He rationalizes concentrated economic power and passes lightly over the danger of trusting the welfare of the nation to a select few. He nobly proposes that "these matters, controversial as they are, need to be discussed in the open air of reason." Of course no series of articles expressing an opposing view would be likely to appear in *Collier's* or any other popular magazine, since all depend for their very existence on big-business advertising. This is precisely the sinister point—that concentrated economic power has already assumed such gigantic proportions that 80 per cent of our newspapers and all our mass-circulation magazines are under its influence or control.

I suspect Mr. Lilienthal knows that we cannot welcome monster-big, collectivistic business without also welcoming a socialistic solution of our political problems. Karl Marx understood this, and William Ropke makes it abundantly clear in "The Social Crisis of Our Times." Our experience confirms it. As private corporations have swelled into giant industries, we have been driven to ask government for protection against their depredations. Government subsidizes food growing and farming, as well as industry through tariffs. Government subsidizes air and steamship lines. It guarantees bank deposits and 80 per cent of the mortgages on G. I. homes. It provides the funds for slum clearance and billions for defense plants. We have direct government ownership, federal and local, of much of our water and power supply. We have the R. E. A., the T. V. A., and the R. F. C. We have socialized education and public hospitals and clinics. The government has been forced to exercise a high degree of control over commerce, the issuance of securities, banking and public utilities. Government intervenes through income taxes in the distribution of income. We have social security and economic controls.

Mr. Lilienthal welcomes all these measures and argues that they have made Bigness safe, appearing to look upon the process as finished. He decries "negative" criticism and proposes a new affirmative state of mind and attitude toward Bigness. Apparently it does not occur to him that without negative criticism these very measures would never have been adopted.

Big—he does not say Biggest—Business has created, he declares, many thousands of opportunities for small business. Look at the gas stations and hot-dog stands along the highway made possible by the automobile. (It is not at all clear why these small businesses would not have come into being even if General Motors did not own Chevrolet, Pontiac, Buick, Oldsmobile, and so on.) Nowhere did I find any real attempt by Mr. Lilienthal to justify the huge conglomerate corporations. Why should General Motors be in the washing-machine business? Surely not to make its production of automobiles more efficient. Why should General Electric be producing steel, or Chrysler, air-conditioning apparatus? The book does not discuss the effective control exercised by the giant corporations over their tens of thousands of suppliers, dealers, and distributors.

Mr. Lilienthal's objectives are admirable: a changing enterprising society, increasingly productive, efficient, and diverse, big and small business, new products, new competitors, new opportunities for individual development; a stabilized, rational economy; an ethical society responsive to the public will. But can the suffocating bureaucracy of monster-big corporations bring these results any more than Too Big Government? As for the development of the individual, is he not lost in giant private collectivistic organizations? Is he not actually worse than lost? Discussing this subject recently, Chester I. Barnard, retired head of the Rockefeller Foundation, said:

> There has been a greater and greater acceleration of centralization in this country, not merely in government, and not merely in the organization of great corporations but also on the part of labor unions and other organizations. There has been a social disintegration going along with this material development, and this formulation of organized activities implies payment of a price, the amount of which we are not yet able to assess.

I find in this statement more wisdom and a truer judgment than in "Big Business: A New Era."

C. Wright Mills in "White Collar" also presents a true picture.

> The decline of the free entrepreneur and the rise of the dependent employee on the American scene has paralleled the decline of the independent individual. . . . The white-collar man is the hero as victim, the small creature who is acted upon but does not act, who works along in somebody's office or store, never talking

---

T. K. QUINN was formerly vice-president of the General Electric Company, chairman of the board of the General Electric Finance Company, director general of the War Production Drive, and is now president of the Monitor Equipment Corporation. He is the author of "Liberty, Employment, No More Wars," "Labor and Management Manual," "I Quit Monster Business," "Sons of Riches," and of a forthcoming book, "Giant Business: Threat to Democracy."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loud, never talking back, never taking a stand.

What must be grasped is the picture of society as a great salesroom, an enormous file, an incorporated brain, a new universe of management and manipulation. . . . Here are the new Machiavellians, practicing their personal crafts for hire and for the profits of others, according to rules laid down by those above them.

"Freedom of choice in economic matters means freedom to choose between competing ideas or services or goods," says Lilienthal. "It means the maximum of freedom to choose one job or profession or one line of business against another." But has not this alleged freedom become in actual fact and practice too like the victimization of the white-collar man whom Mr. Wright describes? And to what else must we charge this repression if not to imposing Bigness and our collectivized and centralized economic organizations?

Research by Big Business is presented as the great hope of the future. Space does not permit arguing the case here. One illustration will make my point. Because Mr. Lilienthal knows the electric-appliance industry, as I do, I remind him that not one single distinctively new electric home appliance has ever been created by one of the giant concerns—not the first washing machine, electric range, dryer, iron or ironer, electric lamp, refrigerator, radio, toaster, fan, heating pad, razor, lawn mower, freezer, air conditioner, vacuum cleaner, dishwasher, or grill. All were the original inventions of smaller concerns. The record of the giants is one of moving in, buying out, and absorbing after the fact.

Dr. Clarence Cook Little of the Jackson Memorial Laboratory, former president of the universities of Michigan and Maine, expressed wise preference for the small as distinguished from the big laboratories:

> Scientific research is an intensely personal effort . . . like the artist, the creative scientist must be permitted to pursue his own ideas unhampered by restrictions of organized groups.
>
> The large groups have made extremely important contributions only when an original discovery, made by a single individual, is already available for further technical development.

Mr. Lilienthal has spent his life in huge public organizations. I wish he had started somewhere near the bottom of one of them so that he might have a mental picture of what they are like viewed from the bottom up.

The implication throughout his book that the benefits of mass production and the machine can be made available only by Big Business is misleading. If by Big Business he means a ten-, twenty-, thirty-, forty-, or even a fifty-million-dollar company—large enough, depending on the product, to achieve efficient costs—then he has a good case. But the facts do not begin to justify our billion-dollar corporations, of which we now have fifty-eight. They are the ones, along with another fifty to a hundred runners-up, which are changing the whole organization of our society and jeopardizing our freedoms. It is not too facetious to suggest that a person who is completely enamored of Bigness might well propose one grand giant business organization—the United States Combined All Industry Corporation of America—and that would be something like what Russia has now.

New Books in Brief

Story of Fanny Brice

THE FABULOUS FANNY. The Story of Fanny Brice. By Norman Katkov. Knopf. $3.95. The "fabulous" of this title is a very tired adjective, but Fanny Brice really was more than a good low comedian. With an almost terrifying persistence she saw everything in human life, from the female body to the grandest passions, in terms of the grotesque, and given a ten-minute skit she could reduce a socially significant dancer or a working girl trying to preserve her virtue to embarrassing absurdity. The present so-called biography is hardly more than a long "feature story" based largely on interviews with people who knew her, but it does add up to a believable portrait.

Married first to a barber "because he smelled so good," second to Nicky Arnstein "because he looked so good," and finally to Billy Rose "because he talked so good," Fanny had the broad streak of unassimilated sentimentality which so often goes with exuberant tough-mindedness, and she lived the Damon Runyon myth of Broadway—from rags to riches, or burlesque to the Ziegfeld Follies—in one leap and, if you believe the legend, with a broken heart in the end because her racketeer husband let her down. A Wanamaker brought the Prince of Wales to call, and Waxy Gordon once surrendered five thousand dollars because he was afraid Fanny would call him a welsher. She bought modern paintings, decorated her friends' homes for them, patronized the most expensive dressmakers, and knew as many of the international élite as she did of "the mob." "Fanny, you speak French, don't you?" "No, I don't, George. I believe in talking one language good."

Red Lewis Self-revealed

THE MAN FROM MAIN STREET. A SINCLAIR LEWIS READER. Edited by Harry E. Maule and Melville H. Cane. Assisted by Philip Allan Friedman. Random House. $3.75. From the year, 1904, of his first contributions to the *Yale Literary Magazine* to the last year of his life, 1950-51, Sinclair Lewis was pouring out miscellaneous comment on life, books, and notions; his editors calculate that he wrote some million "non-fictional" words, and have here collected fifty or sixty pieces, coming up through time to his seething indignation over the textile strike at Marion, North Carolina, in 1929, his speech at Stockholm in 1930, and the strident blasts he sounded in the 1940's.

Lewis was not a critic in any formal or even respectable sense; he was incapable of behaving like one. He could not write about Thoreau without putting in the center of his comment Doc Lewis's skinny son dreaming over "Walden" "between the wheatfields and the sultry brook." When not speaking through his characters, this man could speak only through or about himself. For anyone interested in the personality of Lewis, and in the problem of the American artist, there is here self-revelation in abundance.

By rescuing and collecting these pieces the editors have done a service for letters and for social history. One can only regret, therefore, that they saw fit to group them helter-skelter under a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

series of fancy and meaningless rubrics and so to destroy all logical or chronological coherence. Taken in order, they give a strangely deepening impression of the effect of events and ideas upon an intransigent, fertile, perverse, and always —though sometimes only by intention —generous spirit.

Pragmatic Economics

ECONOMIC STABILITY IN A CHANGING WORLD. By John H. Williams. Oxford. $5. Although Professor Williams of Harvard is usually accounted a conservative economist, the "confessions" that introduce this volume reveal him rather as a skeptic who is no less dubious about the doctrines of the neo-classicists than about those of the post-Keynesians. As one who is frequently called from the lecture room to advise governments and bankers, he believes that "economic theory is pointless unless it is aimed at what to do." But, he complains, many of the great theorists from Ricardo to Keynes, while searching for a basis for policy, merely achieved "rationalization after the event." Thus systems intended to have permanent validity again and again prove a reflection of relatively short-run conditions.

Such questionings do not imply that Professor Williams regards all theorizing as waste motion. Nevertheless, he is so keenly aware of the danger of pursuing the internal consistency of a theory to "a point where contact with reality is lost" that on most occasions he restricts himself to a severely pragmatic approach. This is illustrated by the six papers on the Marshall Plan included in the present volume, as well as by a 1945 essay, Free Enterprise and Full Employment, which, while dated in some respects, has fully enough relevance to current problems to justify republication.

Lively Miniatures

THE SINGULAR PREFERENCE. By Peter Quennell. Viking. $3.75. Twenty-eight short pieces—mostly portraits of writers—contributed over two decades to the *Times Literary Suplement,* the *New Statesman and Nation,* and other British publications. Mr. Quennell suggests Lytton Strachey by his fondness for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century figures both French and English, as well as by a method which emphasizes the picturesque and eccentric aspects of his subjects. There is, however, less obvious straining after effect, and the result is a collection of brightly colored miniatures which are lively without being at all overdone. The sitters range from Defoe down to H. G. Wells; among them are people as varied as Lord Hervey, Mrs. Thrale, Coventry Patmore, George Borrow, and Swinburne. This is biography —with a little criticism thrown in—at its most diverting, and to those who object that it is cultivated rather than erudite or intelligent rather than intellectual the reply might be that it is also what one of Mr. Quennell's two favorite centuries would have called "rational entertainment." One sentence will illustrate what he learned from Strachey: "Of all the variously horrid forms in which sentence of annihilation has been passed on famous writers, none seems more unjust than that reserved for Matthew Arnold, who, during the spring of 1888, fell dead in a Liverpool street while running for a tramcar."

Sense of Life

THE WAITERS. By William Fisher. World Publishing Company. $3.75. A sometimes awkward first novel by a Negro author who has real power and a mature sense of life. The hero, a waiter, becomes Mr. Big in a City Island restaurant. His motives are convincing, his methods (stooging for the owner, running a numbers game) are natural for him; his rewards are a big Cadillac, and violent death. Mr. Fisher has described the texture of ordinary Negro life very well indeed. The love relationship in the novel is excellent realism in which the woman knows she has been out of her mind "tryin' to make something outa nothing."

The
SOVIET IMPACT
on SOCIETY

by Dagobert D. Runes

Preface by Harry Elmer Barnes

In what manner has Kremlin-controlled Sovietism raised or lowered human standards? Is man in Soviet society master of his own fate? May he follow unhampered his self-chosen vocation and avocation? Can he express his ideas and feelings as he wishes? Can he join his neighbors in groups, unions and confederations? Are his social or cultural activities dictated by political potentates?

To these and other basic questions the distinguished philosopher offers an unbiased reply, out of his direct observations and studies.

$3.75

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY
Publishers
15 E. 40 ST., Desk N, New York 16, N. Y.

Theater

Harold Clurman

ALTHOUGH Bernard Shaw's "Misalliance" (Barrymore Theater) deals with the same middle-class England which he later characterized as Heartbreak House, the earlier play—"Misalliance" was written in 1909-10 —might be called the Good Old Days. The young girl chafing at the inane leisure furnished by her papa's prosperity, turning from her hysterical aristocrat of a fiancé to a handsome brute of an adventurer and asking her father to buy him might be considered something to grow melancholy over. But the facts of "Misalliance" are viewed with confidence, humor, and zest. For in 1910 the English middle class was rich, assured, untroubled about the future, and when Shaw complained that it was burying its head in silly illusions while it talked, talked, talked, he was clearly glad to join in the chorus as a brilliantly knowing interlocutor, because there were still ease, freedom, and good fortune to be enjoyed.

The Shavian optimism of 1910 has a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tonic effect on us today. It is not only great fun to see "Misalliance" because it bubbles with blarney and mental vigor, does all sorts of verbal nip-ups that bespeak health and high spirits, and practically somersaults with vaudeville tricks that are part of the eternal theater, but it is also a comfort to our aching souls because Shaw's world is no longer ours, and we are happy to be reminded that it once existed.

It is not true that the play has no action: every scene is based on a fundamentally entertaining, physically projected situation as old as the hills and therefore satisfying. Neither is it true that the play is not about anything—its theme, I repeat, is that of "Heartbreak House" conceived in a gay key—but what carries it along so buoyantly for us is our sense of release in the delightful moral and social landscape reflected in it. This is happily caught in the City Center production with its "crazy" *art nouveau* setting by John Boyt and the very pleasant cast—Barry Jones is best—which conveys the fun of the play while cutting an hour from its text.

THE young girl in William Inge's new play, "Picnic" (Music Box Theater), like Shaw's "ingenue," is waiting for something to happen. But the environment of the American play—specifically Kansas—is a place where nothing can happen to anybody. The women are all frustrated by fearful, jerky men; the men are ignorant, without objective, ideals, or direction—except for their spasmodic sexual impulses. There is no broad horizon for anyone, and a suppressed yammer of desire emanates from every stick and stone of this dry cosmos, in which the futile people burn to cinders.

If you read my description and then see the play you will be either vastly relieved or shockingly disappointed. For though what I have said may still be implicit in the words, it is hardly present on the stage. I happen to have read the playscript before it was put into rehearsal, and I saw in it a laconic delineation of a milieu seen with humor and an intelligent sympathy that was not far from compassion. What is on the stage now is a rather coarse boy-and-girl story with a leeringly sentimental emphasis on naked limbs and "well-stacked" females. It is as if a good Sherwood Anderson novel were skilfully converted into a prurient popular magazine story on its way to screen adaptation.

In this vein the play is extremely well done. It is certainly effective. Joshua Logan, who is a crackerjack craftsman, has done a meticulous, shrewd, thoroughly knowledgeable job of staging. He has made sharply explicit everything which the audience already understands and is sure to enjoy in the "sexy" plot, and has fobbed off everything less obvious to which the audience ought to be made sensitive.

All pain has been removed from the proceedings. The boy in the script who was a rather pathetic, confused, morbidly explosive and bitter character is now a big goof of a he-man whom the audience can laugh at or lust after. The adolescent sister who was a kind of embryo artist waiting to be born has become a comic grotesque who talks as if she suffered from a hare-lip; the drained and repressed mother is presented as a sweet hen almost indistinguishable from her chicks; the tense school teacher bursting with unused vitality is foreshortened as a character and serves chiefly as a utility figure to push the plot. Even the setting, which—for the purposes of the theme—might have suggested the dreary sunniness of the Midwestern flatlands, has been given a romantically golden glow and made almost tropically inviting.

Having seen the play with this bifocal vision—script and production—I cannot be sure exactly what the audience gets from the combination. Lyric realism in the sound 1920 tradition of the prairie novelists is being offered here as the best Broadway corn. In the attempt to make the author's particular kind of sensibility thoroughly acceptable, the play has been vulgarized.

The cast is good—Kim Stanley is particularly talented, though I disliked the characterization imposed on her—and it follows the director with devoted fidelity. There is a new leading lady, Janice Rule, who besides having a lovely voice is unquestionably the most beautiful young woman on our stage today.

Here at any rate is a solid success. But I am not sure whether the author should get down on his knees to thank the director for having made it one or punch him in the nose for having altered the play's values. It is a question of taste.

HAN SUYIN

author of

"one of the great new love stories based on fact. It will break your heart and then lift you very high."
—WALTER WINCHELL

Don't YOU miss

A Many-Splendored Thing

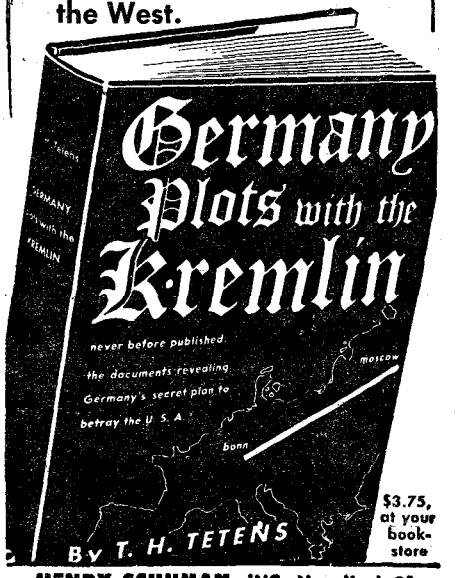
"Few women in love have written with such frankness. A lovely and moving book . . . of sudden, utter, doomed, dedicated love."
—LEWIS GANNETT

$3.75 at all bookstores

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY · BOSTON

Germany is the bulwark against the East, says Herr Adenauer. Don't fall for the Bonn-Moscow booby trap! warns T. H. Tetens. Read the sensational documents, including the top secret Madrid Directive, showing how Germany plans to betray the West.



$3.75, at your bookstore

HENRY SCHUMAN, INC. New York 21

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE superb pre-war Glyndebourne Festival performance of Mozart's "Così Fan Tutte" has been reissued—dubbed from the old 78s onto three LPs of RCA Victor's Treasury of Immortal Performances. Souez's voice is altered and less agreeable than on the 78s; moreover if I step up the treble to brighten the orchestra her voice has a slight distortion that is eliminated by my moving the treble back that step; and there are times when the greater distortion of the voices from deteriorated masters requires further reduction of treble. But these defects of the dubbed sound—and the fact that two of the breaks occur in the middle of the great arias *Come scoglio* and *Per pietà*—would, for me, be outweighed by the quality of the performance. The Italian text and an English translation—not always accurately correlated with the record sides—are provided.

On two records we get a dubbing of the 1933 recording of passages from Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier" which documents — though imperfectly — the historic performances in Europe with Lehmann, Olszewska, Schumann, and Mayr. Imperfectly, because what I said about the dubbed sound of "Così" is true of the sound of "Der Rosenkavalier," with two of the passages most cherished by lovers of this opera—the Marschallin's monologue in the first act and the trio in the third act—badly distorted. Luckily the one passage that I cherish—the Presentation of the Rose duet—comes off the record bright and clear. I am aware that many people value the opera more highly than I do; but in this column I speak for myself, not for them; and what I hear is occasional sugary tunes that are expressively inadequate for the ideas of their texts, and long musically arid stretches of mere notes to carry the words. These stretches will be very boring indeed to someone who won't even be able to follow the words—i.e. someone listening to these records with only a summary of the action, and particularly the summary provided by Victor, which is inadequate, misleading, and inaccurately correlated with the record sides. Why the words should be provided for "Così" but not for "Der Rosenkavalier" is something that takes a record-company mind to figure out.

A record called "A Tribute to Lotte Lehmann" offers dubbings of some of the recordings of songs that she made for Victor from about 1934 to about 1940. They reproduce faithfully the beauty of her voice—except for the constricted, shrill high notes—at that time; and they give us some superb performances of fine songs, but not some of her best performances of some of the finest songs—e.g. Wolf's "Anakreon's Grab" and "Heimweh," Schubert's "Im Dorfe" and "Das Wirtshaus"—which would have been better choices than Schubert's "Der Lindenbaum" and the songs by Franz. And the texts of the songs would be more useful than Vincent Sheean's tribute to Lehmann, which contains nothing I can recognize.

A record called "Critic's Choice" has a number of old vocal recordings which Irving Kolodin thinks offer "unforgettable performances," and which do in fact offer the second half of Ivogün's fabulous performance of Zerbinetta's aria from Strauss's "Ariadne" (unbelievable rubbish), Thorborg's superb performance of Wolf's "Kennst du das Land," and beautiful singing by Schipa, Schumann, Maynor, Warren, Tibbett, and others. But Mr. Kolodin's choice from "among a tantalizing variety of Onegin disks" is a monstrosity in which she sings a vocal obbligato with Chopin's Impromptu Opus 29; and his choice for Cebotari is her excessively tremulous singing of *Dove sono* from "Figaro," which he characterizes as "firmly vocalized." Again the texts would be more valuable than the comments.

"Caruso in 'Faust'" offers not only his 1906 *Salut! demeure* but the ensembles that he recorded in 1910 with Farrar, Gilibert, Journet, and Scotti, and Farrar's 1913 Jewel Song—unfortunately without her King of Thule ballad. Her voice is extremely lovely in the 1910 performances, and curiously altered—possibly by the dubbing—in the later one.

As for instrumental performances, we get on one record the Mozart Concerto K.218 that Kreisler recorded in the mid-twenties and the Mendelssohn Concerto that he recorded about ten years later.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION ☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION ☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

8/7/53

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Both exhibit the lyricism that touched every heart with its sweetness and purity —with only an occasional slide or arch inflection to betray the composer of "Caprice Viennois," and only an occasional hint in the Mendelssohn of the technical deterioration that had begun by this time. Surprisingly the London Philharmonic is clearer in the Mozart performance; and when treble is stepped up for more brightness in the Mendelssohn we get the noise of some of the records from which it was dubbed.

On another record are examples of Rachmaninov's excitingly dramatic style of piano, playing in two of the works of his that provided occasions for its exercise. Even the best of these works—which include the Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini on this record—are trashy; and even with Rachmaninov's playing the early Concerto No. 1 is dull. The Rhapsody, recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski in 1934, needs stepping up of treble, which makes the end noisy.

Record Notes

Elgar: Introduction and Allegro for Strings, Op. 47 and Serenade for Strings, Op. 20; Collins and New Symphony (London); good performances. (With Vaughan Williams's Fantasia on a theme by Thomas Tallis and Fantasia on "Greensleeves.")

Haydn: Symphonies Nos. 88 and 100; Paul Walter and Weidlich with the Salzburg Mozarteum Orchestra (Remington); abominable performances and recording.

Mahler: Songs of Youth; Felbermayer and Poell with Graef at the piano (Vanguard); beautiful songs in superb performances.

Mendelssohn: Symphony No. 4 ("Italian"); Dorati and Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); poor performance. (With a poor performance of Mozart's Symphony in G minor.)

Mozart: Country (German) Dances for Orchestra; Litschauer and Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard), Kloss and the Frankenland State Symphony (Lyrichord); engaging music with wonderfully unexpected details of orchestration; Litschauer much the better in both performance and recording.

Rossini: Overtures: "William Tell," "La Gazza Ladra," "La Scala di Seta," and "Semiramide"; Van Beinum and the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); good performances.

Schubert: Symphony No. 9; Krips and the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); a good, unexciting performance, with Toscanini's quick tempo in the slow movement.

Schumann: Symphony No. 2; Schuricht and the Paris Conservatory Concerto Orchestra (London); excellent performance.

Sibelius: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Wicks with Ehrling and the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Stockholm (Capitol); soloist forceful to the point of vehemence, orchestra fair.

Strauss: "Josephslegende"; Eichhorn and the Orchestra of the Munich State Opera (Urania); some engaging moments and enough mammoth climaxes for ten ballets; good performance; recording shrill and gritty.

Tchaikovsky: "Romeo and Juliet" and "Hamlet"; Fistoulari and the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM); fair performance and recording; noisy surfaces.

Symphony No. 5; Dorati and the Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); poor performance.

Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique"); Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury), Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); Kubelik's performance is much less stolid than Ormandy's, but his orchestra is far inferior.

ROBERT E. GARIS

Gallery Notes

[*Gallery Notes will appear as a guide to current shows, supplementing S. Lane Faison, Jr.'s regular art criticism.*]

YEHOSHUA KOVARSKY, recently arrived Israeli artist, is having his first New York show. Strongly expressionist and using clear colors, he is mainly concerned with Biblical themes.—*Passedoit to March 21.*

HILDE B. KAYN, dancer, pianist, and painter, died in 1950. Her interest in the dance was translated into a series of paintings of folk dances and dance groups.—*Milch to March 28.*

THREE LEADERS of contemporary Italian painting—Afro, Birolli, and Morlotti—all honored by special exhibitions at the Venice Biennale, present distinctive approaches in this small but representative show.—*Viviano to March 14.*

JACK YEATS, brother of the late poet, William Butler Yeats, depicts deserted Irish streets and wind-swept moors in a group of thickly pigmented canvases. —*Saidenberg to March 10.*

FRANCOIS KUPKA, Czech painter now over eighty years of age, was one of the pioneers of geometrical abstraction. Here he is concerned with reproducing motion through dynamic circles and curves.—*Fried to March 14.*

CHALLIS H. DAWSON presents water colors of American landscapes, from Maine to Arizona, painted in a decorative traditional style.—*Wellons to March 14.*

LANDMARKS IN AMERICAN ART is a loan exhibition of more than sixty great American paintings, ranging from an anonymous 1670 canvas to a 1950 abstraction. Many museums and public collections contributed—*Wildenstein to March 28.*

FRENCH DRAWINGS and WATER COLORS is a small but comprehensive show that ranges from sixteenth-century Bellange to present-day Modigliani. These intimate sketches by such French masters as Fragonard, Degas, Chagall, and others capture the French flair for expressive calligraphy.—*Este to March 17.*

IRVIN HAAS

FRENCH DRAWINGS AND WATERCOLORS
Through March 17th
ESTE GALLERY
Stefan Ehrenzweig
116 East 57 Street ELdorado 5-1768

KUPKA
ROSE FRIED GALLERY
6 East 65th Street, New York 21
1:30 — 5:30 P. M.

YUL BRYNNER
in
RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
The King and I
A New Musical Play
with CONSTANCE CARPENTER
ST. JAMES THEATRE, West 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: $7.20 to 1.80. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: $4.20 to 1.80.
MONDAY EVES. ONLY: CURTAIN AT 7 SHARP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

A Vote for Morse

Dear Sirs: The Morse Code by Bruce Catton in *The Nation* of February 14 hits the spot. He is all right, and so is Senator Morse. Many thanks to you for your choice of writers with spunk.

New York JAMES B. GUIMES

Ethics and Parity

Dear Sirs: That "sound, long-range programs in a free, democratic society must pass the test of Christian ethical goals as well as the test of realistic economic principles" was the united conviction of forty rural church leaders, economists, sociologists, and farmers at the conclusion of a seminar on Ethical Issues in Farm Price Policy held in Chicago on January 21 under the auspices of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches.

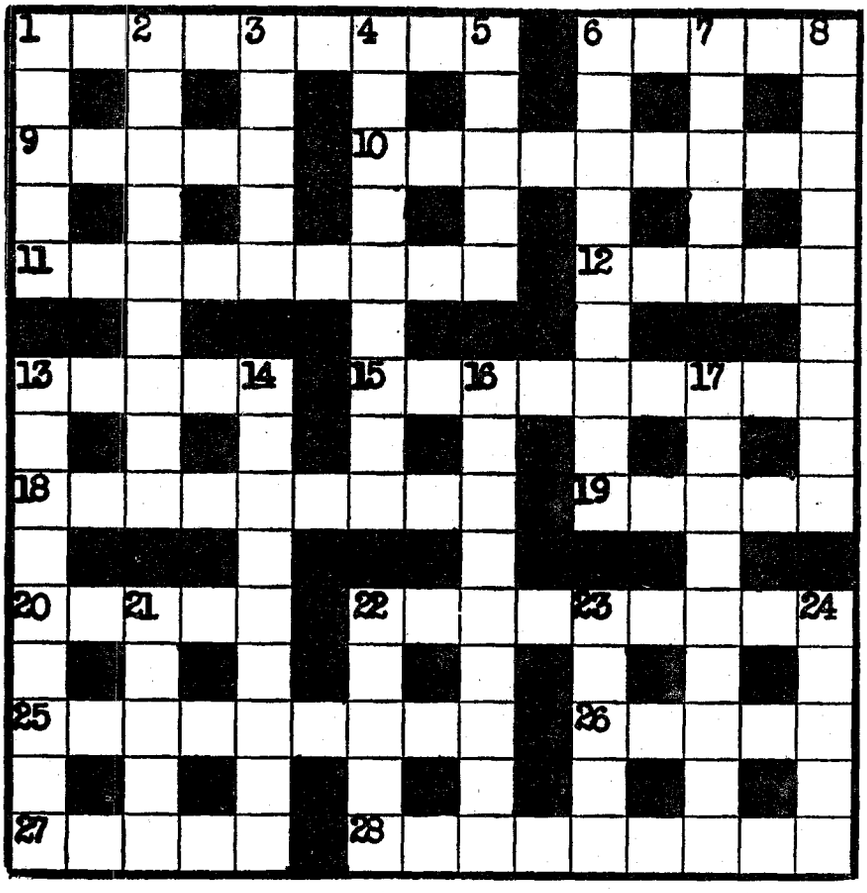
While affirming the necessity of a federal price-support program, the group made clear its views that our present program is less than satisfactory. A particular concern is the failure of price-support programs to solve the problems of low-income farmers, who constitute nearly half our farm population and have little to sell at any price. . . .

Among the major findings of the four working groups which took part in the seminar's afternoon session were these: price-support programs, soundly conceived, will not restrict free enterprise but will stabilize and strengthen it; there is no evidence that price supports have contributed more to faulty allocation of resources than have the wild fluctuations of the former "free market"; the present division between basic and non-basic commodities is indefensible, and livestock and livestock products should be classified as basic; a variety of techniques should be legally available for support of farm prices in order to meet varying situations; price-support benefits should be limited to conform to our American policy of support for the family farm.

A secret opinion poll, taken at the close of the session, gave unanimous support to the continuation of some form of price-support program. Most favored was one designed to "level up the hollows and level down the humps of the farm-income cycle." The production goal most favored was "balanced production of the farm commodities

Crossword Puzzle No. 506

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 20 and 9 This condition shouldn't be conducive to hard thinking! (9, 2, 3, 5)
6 Anna isn't big enough for this, so one pie would be even a smaller portion. (5)
9 See 1 across.
10 Fractured French is a privilege here. (9)
11 Copper band, important at points of stress. (4, 5)
12 and 7 down. A strike might make it lighter near the end of play. (5, 5)
13 Living quarters which suggest inflation might be a good thing! (5)
15 Ruins made responsible for charges. (9)
18 and 28 Proving sex is related to one of the first parts of speech. (6, 3, 9)
19 They don't sound like places for loose living! (5)
20 See 1 across.
22 Dad's hunch might run more to length than height. (9)
25 He gave three cheers for war in general. (9)
26 Never yet found without reticulation (5)
27 An only child wouldn't have one of of his own. (5)
28 See 18 across.

DOWN

1 Judgelike, as they say? (5)
2 Sort of 5 for a painter. (9)
3 These birds are not quite big enough for Mr. Hemingway. (5)
4 In short, it sounds drafty; obviously, it's worse than cold. (9)
5 A novel sort of thole would be this big. (5)
6 Those who never lie shouldn't be in such a position. (9)
7 See 12 across.
8 Looks like Orpheus or Dante with light shields. (9)
13 An unloved doctor gives an expression of pain to human beings. (9)
14 Paul Gustave's brother Stephen? He might empty the vessel. (9)
16 Introduce a sort of cut. (9)
17 Made Ma a sundae—not intended to affect her this way! (2, 7)
21 State, in a different sense than 23. (5)
22 Wild dog in action! (5)
23 King Lear's Edgar said Child Rowland did the blood of a British man. (5)
24 Act like a senior professional man. (5)

• ✠ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 505

ACROSS:—1 INSHOOTS; 5 AGLEAM; 9 PLATEAU; 10 PEDICEL; 12 UNAWARE; 13 SALT AND PEPPER; 15 COMMENDATIONS; 21 AUCTION; 22 RATTLER; 23 PIONEER; 24 IMAGERY; 25 DE SOTO; 26 AGITATOR.

DOWN:—1 IMPUTE; 2 SHAKERS; 3 OVERALL; 4 TRUCK GARDENER; 6 and 11 GOD SAVE THE MARK; 7 ENCLASP; 8 MULBERRY; 10 POUND STERLING; 14 SCRAPPED; 16 MACRONS; 17 EXIGENT; 18 OUTCAST; 19 SOLVENT; 20 PRAYER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the **U S S R**

JUST ARRIVED!
TIKHON SYOMUSHKIN'S
Alitet Goes to the Hills
Fascinating Novel in English about the *Chukchi People of the Far North*
Highest Literary Prize 1948
Well Bound—illustrated in color—595 pp. $1.65

GALINA NIKOLAYEVA
HARVEST
Prize Winning Novel 1950
In English — 622 pp. — $1.75
Latest Soviet Records; Handicrafts
We ship records to all parts of the United States, South America and Canada
1953 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Ask for Complete Catalogue E-53
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

OUR SPECIALTY
Locating out-of-print books. We search and report free. DELTA BOOK SERVICE, Dept. N, 2856 Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis, Tenn.

PERSONALS

HEAR:
the story of a man denied his Constitutional Rights and sentenced to 26 Years!
STEVE NELSON
SUNDAY 2 P.M. MARCH 8
ROCKLAND PALACE
155th STREET & 8th AVE. 50¢
Auspices: Civil Rights Congress; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
23 West 26th Street, N. Y. C. MU 3-5057

"RIGHT SCIENCE" Success System. Develops Will-Power, Self-Confidence, Personality. Write, Self-Betterment, Box 91N, New York 30.

TWO BALMY WEATHER SPECIALS: 1—20" Bicycle with trainer wheels—**only $32.95.** 2—Full-size English, 3-speed, lightweight bicycle—equipped—**$49.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143—4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.) N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 30 MIN. FREE PARKING.

MATURE professional woman, of varied interests wishes to meet another woman to go abroad next summer. Best references. Phone CHelsea 2-7544 evenings.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

needed for domestic consumption and for export." Purchase and loan programs were the most favored technique for supporting non-perishables, but direct payments outranked other proposals for perishables.

An identification check on the anonymous poll revealed that both Democrats and Republicians were present in all three of the vocational categories—ministers, farmers, and others.

SHIRLEY E. GREENE,
Agricultural Relations Secretary of the Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Merom, Ind.

More on Ruth Crawford

Dear Sirs: One of your correspondents observed that it took courage for you to print the "apologia" of Ruth E. Crawford in *The Nation* of January 24. But it ought, though I cannot be sure of anything at present, to pay off in solidifying the courage of others. Nowhere have I seen such clear, honest conviction of honor and truth, which should be the very core of loyalty in all relations, as Miss Crawford has revealed. If this be subversive, we need a lot more of it.

MARJORIE F. WARNER
Walpole, N. H.

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the most timely and penetrating article I have seen anywhere, I Have a Thing to Tell You, by Ruth Elizabeth Crawford [*The Nation,* January 24]. This is truly "an appeal to the American conscience," and unless our conscience is sufficiently aroused to stop war and witch hunts (a necessary accessory to war), then we shall surely become the fear-ridden garrison state predicted by the late George Orwell in "1984". . . .

That there is a campaign to destroy two of our most cherished institutions, the public schools and the United Nations, the general public seems not to know or care. The "magic" weapon for the destruction of both is anti-communism. No, it was not Miss Crawford, nor was it the Communists, who are so small in number and prestige as to constitute no danger to the status quo; it was the United Nations which was the real target. There is a nation-wide campaign to "kick out" the United Nations. . . .

American Protestants should be aware that it is and has ever been the Catholic aim to discredit public schools and convert all to the parochial school idea. . . .

MARY PHILLIPS
Lemont, Ill.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES—A modern year-round resort in heart of Blue Mountains of Penn. Dutch country. Jewish-American cuisine. 90 miles from N. Y. C. **Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Pa. Tel: Bath 6501.**

BUNGALOW COLONY

MIRTH BUNGALOW COLONY
Modernized bungalows—2, 3 and 4 rooms
Day Camp led by High School Teachers
Lake, Tennis Courts, Sport facilities
Folk Dancing and other cultural entertainment
For further information
Phone: DEwey 9-0534 — Or write
MIRTH COLONY (S. Star)
MOUNTAINDALE NEW YORK

PUBLIC RELATIONS

PUBLICITY
for labor groups, trade associations, civic organizations and business corporations
JESSE GORDON & ASSOCIATES
Public Relations
1819 Broadway New York, N. Y.

FINANCING

FINANCING
of
Large Industrial Enterprises
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS!—TV Minded? You do not have to be a television writer to write for TV! Outline, plot, or synopsis will suffice. Write for terms—TODAY! **Mead Agency, 419 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.**

Butcher . . . Baker . . . Candlestick Maker ?
Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in our pages.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GUILD BOOK SERVICE

13 **KAETHE KOLLWITZ, introduction by Carl Zigrosser.** 9¼" x 12¼". Seventy-two magnificent lithographs, woodcuts, and etchings comprising the four famous print cycles, *The Weavers, Peasant War, War,* and *Death,* by the great German woman artist. It is this work that was hailed by critics as one of the foremost social documents of our time.

Original price $9.00, you pay $5.75

409. **MUSIC IN THE NATION by B. H. Haggin.** 376 pp. This book gathers together some of the finest modern music commentary in America during the past twenty years. It ranges over everything in our musical life: symphony orchestras, conductors, operas and singers, old music, new music, jazz, books, and the writings of other critics. Irwin Edman once described Haggin's critical writing as "a sheer delight in itself."

List price $5.00, you pay $2.50

42. **BAUDELAIRE, RIMBAUD, VERLAINE, Selected Verse and Prose Poems, edited with an Introduction by Joseph M. Bernstein.** 320 pp. Here is the work of France's greatest modern poets in a single volume. It includes Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil* and *Prose Poems,* Rimbaud's *A Season in Hell* and *Prose Poems* and a selection of Verlaine's verse.

List price $3.00, you pay $2.00

256. **STYLE AND IDEA by Arnold Schoenberg.** 224 pages, 5⅝" x 8¾". This very important book is a summation of the thoughts and theories of Arnold Schoenberg from 1912 to the present day. These essays were selected from the writings of Schoenberg published abroad and many of them have never before been published in English.

List price $4.75, you pay $3.00

12. **THE WOODCUTS OF ARISTIDE MAILLOL, edited by John Rewald.** 176 plates. For the first time since they were originally published in a very limited edition of 500 copies, the inimitable and vibrant woodcuts of Maillol are again available.

Original price $18.00, you pay $5.75

19. **WORLD HISTORY OF THE DANCE by Curt Sachs.** 480 pp., 32 plates. In this excellent translation of what has been called the most definitive history of the dance, all cultures and historical periods are given authoritative treatment. "It has been a long day indeed since anything half so important has been written about the dance."—The New York *Times.*

List price $7.50, you pay $4.00

53. **DELACROIX, HIS LIFE AND WORK by Charles Baudelaire.** Delacroix, father of the Romantic School of French painting, numbered among his friends the young poet Baudelaire, whose essay is here translated for the first time. More than sixty reproductions.

List price $5.00, you pay $2.00

380. **CHARLIE CHAPLIN by Theodore Huff.** 354 pp., 148 illustrations, 6¼" x 9¼". This is the story of Chaplin, the man and the artist, and also of the rise of the cinema from a cheap entertainment product to the status of a major art. The many photographs from Chaplin's pictures make an interesting and nostalgic still gallery to be treasured and returned to again and again.

List price $4.50, you pay $2.75

390. **LEO TOLSTOY by Ernest J. Symmons.** This thorough and definitive biography of the great writer emphasizes Tolstoy's mental and creative development from his early years as a wastrel to his maturity as a man, a great writer of fiction, and a powerful social reformer and religious leader.

List price $6.00, you pay $3.00

Invites you—

To shop in the convenience of your own home for some of these important books.

Guild Book Service
c/o The Nation, Inc.
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Gentlemen:

Please rush, postage prepaid, the books I have circled below:

Enclosed please find $.....

12 13 19 42 53
58 66 250 256 380
381 385 390 409
489 540 553

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Zone..... State.....

GUARANTEE: If not satisfied, return books after ten-day examination, and money will be refunded.

ORDER BY MAIL

58. **THE WORLD WITHIN, edited by Mary Louise Aswell.** This absorbing anthology of fiction illuminating the neuroses of our time includes 15 stories by Dostoevsky, Chekhov, Henry James, Proust, Kafka, Faulkner, and others, framed in psychiatric analyses by Frederic Wertham, M.D.

List price $3.75, you pay $1.00

385. **GEORGE GROSZ DRAWINGS with an introduction by the artist.** 16 pp. plus 52 plates, 9¼" x 12¼". The artist has received world-wide recognition for his fine drawings. This book presents his development from a master of political satire to his excellent figure studies and landscapes. The 52 plates have been beautifully reproduced by gravure and will have a great appeal for all who love contemporary fine art.

Original price $12.50, you pay $5.95

250. **THE POETRY AND PROSE OF HEINRICH HEINE.** Nearly 1000 pages of the outstanding works of this immortal writer, including selections hitherto unavailable in English. The best of the available translations of his poetry and all of his prose, newly translated for this edition, make this excellent collection a desirable addition to your permanent library shelf.

List price $6.00, you pay $3.25

66. **LAFCADIO HEARN'S SELECTED WRITINGS, edited by Henry Goodman, introduction by Malcolm Cowley.** Here, for the first time, is presented the outstanding work of an extremely gifted writer. Included are three complete books, in addition to Hearn's famous sketches of life in New Orleans and the Caribbean, and the beautiful Japanese ghost and fairy stories for which the author was particularly noted.

List price $4.00, you pay $2.50

381. **CERAMICS BY PICASSO.** 11" x 15". Picasso's exquisite ceramics have become rare and coveted pieces. He not only designed the present set but also fired them in his own kiln in France. The eighteen plates reproduce in faithful and glowing color detail these striking new designs by the great modern master. This is one of the loveliest of the Skira color-plate portfolios.

List price $7.50, you pay $4.00

540. **DOCTOR FAUSTUS, a Novel by Thomas Mann.** 5¾" x 8⅝", 510 pp. A modern version of the Faust legend that is in range, depth, variety, and relevance entirely worthy of the author of THE MAGIC MOUNTAIN.

List price $4.00, you pay $2.50

489. **F.D.R.—HIS PERSONAL LETTERS. Edited by Elliott Roosevelt.** 4 volumes, 2,831 pp., 162 illustrations, 5½" x 8¼". Containing *all* of the personal correspondence of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this extraordinary set provides a highly readable and immensely informative record of momentous years and a faithful, brilliant reflection of the late President's personality and thought. Volumes III and IV are boxed, and contain all the letters written during the years when Roosevelt was Governor of New York and President of the United States until his death in 1945. Each of the four volumes is profusely illustrated with rare photographic and facsimile material from the private collection of the Roosevelt family.

List price of 4 vols., $20.00, you pay $9.75

553. **THE MELVILLE LOG: a Documentary Biography of Herman Melville, edited by Jay Leyda.** 2 vols., boxed, 944 pp., 35 illustrations, 6⅛" x 9¼". In this huge two-volume definitive work that is more personal than a diary, Jay Leyda lays bare the mystery, the passion and loneliness that characterized the life of our country's foremost novelist. After many years of research Leyda has utilized all that is personally Herman Melville: letters, diaries, scraps of manuscript, public records and reviews, news clippings, book margin notes and even financial accounts. Dramatically interwoven, they capture the life and heart of the author of Moby Dick.

List price $12.50, you pay $6.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED